

# THE QUAKER MOVEMENT IN SCOTLAND

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## I

GEORGE FOX was born in 1624, at a time that was exciting and formative in British history. The Reformation had come like the bursting of a great dam : its first rush of force had passed but the waters still surged in side-issues. In Elizabeth's reign the Brownists had separated from the State Church, rejecting ceremonies and advocating the rights of conscience. During their exile in Holland, they had developed their theory and practice of free Independent churches. Some became Baptists and their doctrine spread in England about 1640 ; later they became dominant in their influence for a short time under Cromwell. One small sect, the " Familists of Love," had been in England since the middle of the sixteenth century. It rejected oaths and ceremonies and war, believed in the inner light and the perfection of holiness, and observed quiet waiting upon God. In many respects it held the Quaker position, but no information is available as to how it influenced Fox. There was also a large, loose group called " Seekers." Dissatisfied with every existing Church, they waited in prayer for the advent of a Spirit-filled Church on New Testament lines and for some leader manifestly owned of God. They prepared the way for Quakerism, and in some districts joined it in a body, besides furnishing it with a rough framework of organisation, and by their virile strength giving it a great impetus forward.

George Fox was " convinced " in the year 1646, when he says, " the Lord did let me see his love, which was endless and eternal." Debarred from work in the Midlands, he went north to Yorkshire in 1652 and a large group of Seekers joined him near Doncaster. In June he was at Pendle Hill on the border of Lancashire where he had the vision of a great people in white raiment by a river's side coming to the Lord. The next fortnight was creative for the future of Quakerism. On Firbank Fell, overlooking the Lune Valley, he declared Christ for three hours, and hundreds were " convinced," including the leaders of the Seekers. The Seekers

in the villages of Westmoreland found the apostle for whom they had been waiting. Young men with their initiative and strength—men of education—men with Bible knowledge and deep religious experience joined Fox, and intellect, heart and vigour were combined as at no other period. This was the Pentecost at the start of the Quaker movement. In 1652, Yorkshire, Westmoreland and Cumberland were thus the greatest centres of Quakerism.

Next year a long procession of Quaker preachers began to come to Scotland from the north of England. Alexander Parker, an educated, gentlemanly Yorkshireman, went "into most parts" in 1653. Early next year three others came, followed by Burroughs, the ablest of Fox's helpers: and later in the year, two or three more as well as two women preachers. In 1655, at least seventeen can be traced; next year, fourteen "and some others": in 1657, twelve came, including Fox himself. We do not know what places many of these visited, but John Burnyeat in 1658 went to Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Hamilton, Ayr, Portpatrick and Douglas. These journeys were assisted by the liberality of English friends. In the Kendal accounts, it is recorded that in 1655 twelve persons received donations to go to Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

## II

In Scotland Quaker principles were first promulgated by devout men in the English army of occupation.

The story should begin with a reference to James Nayler, the most tragic figure in its early annals. In James Gough's *Memoirs*<sup>2</sup> it is told that one of Cromwell's officers after the battle of Dunbar, 3rd September 1650, found Nayler preaching. "I could not help staying a little," he says, "although I was afraid to stay, for I was made a Quaker, being forced to tremble at the sight of myself. I was struck with more terror before the preaching of James Nayler than I was before the battle of Dunbar." Nayler thus made a Quaker of one of Cromwell's officers before he had definitely become one himself.

The first officer known by name as a Quaker is Col. William Osburne. About 1653 his house in Edinburgh was a meeting-place for friends, and he became a zealous minister amongst the flock there. In September 1657 he went to Cumberland to guide Fox on his Scottish journey.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Friends' Historical Soc.*, VI, 51. The Quakers were vigorous and voluminous writers; and many of their books and letters have been preserved. Careful minutes of their meetings were kept. Extracts and summaries of these are to be found in the *Journal* named, which affords a valuable source of information for the movement in Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> Edit. of 1781, p. 56.

During that visit many officers and their wives were "convinced," including the wife of Colonel Lidcott, Governor of Linlithgow Castle, and Colonel Ashfield, Governor of Glasgow. Fox was ordered by the Privy Council to leave Scotland, but, ignoring the command, he toured the country and finally returned to Edinburgh where there was a "glorious meeting at which many officers and soldiers were present."

At first the army authorities were very tolerant. Caton at the end of 1656 states that he had found General Monck quite moderate, but on 21st March 1657 the latter wrote to Cromwell that Quakers were increasing in the army, both officers and men, and he feared the results.<sup>1</sup> Next month, Monck had a report from Aberdeen of the first visit of John Hall, aged 19, a "Publisher of Quaker Truth." He had been lodged by a cornet who was reported to have said that if he became a Quaker he would rather die than use his sword. At Inverness Hall was received by Captain Davenport who was so confirmed a Quaker that he made all the soldiers his equals, forbidding them to take off their hats to him.<sup>2</sup> This seemed subversive of army discipline, and revealed the essential clash between Quaker principles and army service. "I think it not their principle to fight nor to own authority longer than it may serve their own ends," wrote the Governor of Aberdeen,<sup>3</sup> and orders were issued to discharge Quakers from the army.

While Fox was in Scotland in the autumn of 1657, a drastic purge of two troops in Colonel Lilburne's cavalry<sup>4</sup> took place. The commander of one troop, Capt. Bradford, had received Fox three years previously, and Capt. Watkinson of the other had visited him in Lancaster gaol. Watkinson and a Lieut. Forbes were brought before Monck at Dalkeith and publicly dismissed from the army along with half a dozen other officers. A testimony, dated 20th October 1657, signed by eight soldiers dismissed from the army, says: "We disown the name of Quaker as given by the world in derision, but quakeing and trembling according to the Scriptures we own."<sup>5</sup> After the purge, Langley in a letter to Thurloe, dated Leith, December 28, 1657, says: "They have got a small parcel of Scots into their crew, I think about a dozen."<sup>6</sup> The Scots, however, did not join in any great numbers, for in 1669 the Edinburgh meeting had only eight men in its membership.

### III

A romantic story of pioneer Quakerism comes from Clydesdale. In the parish of Glassford in the high, bleak district lying between East

<sup>1</sup> Thurloe: *State Papers*, VI, 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 167.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal F.H.S.* VIII, 157 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 122.

<sup>5</sup> Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, p. 530; Fox: *Journal*, I, 308.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal F.H.S.*, VIII, 157 ff.



Kilbride, Hamilton, and Strathaven the first colony among native Scots was founded, and it grew so rapidly that it roused the Church to ire and action. It flung out branches at Lenzie, Lesmahagow and Douglas. Local causes in these places favoured this sprouting of a sect outside the national church. At Douglas the ordination of a minister had been effected by the aid of soldiers; at Glassford there had been a ministerial scandal; and the minister of Lenzie was described as "feckless-like in person and mean in gifts."

Four names stand out as pioneers of the new Light in Clydesdale. Alexander Hamilton of Drumboy in Glassford parish, had of himself reached the Quaker position by 1653 and is therefore the first purely Scottish Friend. John Hart became clerk to the monthly meeting set up in his house at the Heads, Glassford: the ruined wall of the building is still visible beside a more modern house. Hew Wood, a nursery seedsman at Hamilton and gardener to the Duke of Hamilton, had a ready pen, acted as clerk for some years, and wrote several papers including one "On the vanity of periwigs and the unlawfulness of their being made of women's hair." A mysterious figure is Lady Hamilton. Fox in his *Journal* says she was convinced at Gartshore near Lenzie, at his meeting in 1657. If she was Lady Margaret Hamilton, fourth daughter and fifth child of William, second Duke of Hamilton who was married in May 1638, she could only have been fourteen years of age at most, probably three or four years younger, when she was excommunicated by the minister of Strathaven in 1657. As "Lady" was then frequently a title of courtesy, she may have been the wife of a laird in some other branch of the Hamilton family.

These pioneers lost no opportunity of trying to further their cause. They preached in the open air: "in vi month 1656 as William Stockdale and John Bowron with some other Friends of Truth [were] journeying through Strathaven, declaring the word of the Lord in the streets [they] were by the inhabitants cruelly beat with stones and driven out of the town."<sup>1</sup> In some cases they went to church to ask questions after sermons, and Andrew Brown and John Lawcock of Glassford were cast into prison for so doing. John Hart attended to hear the minister of Glassford admonish him and answered him back, whereupon the minister got a warrant against him for disturbance and had him cast into prison. In 1668 John Hart and another sent a letter to Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow requiring him to prove and qualify himself as a minister of the Gospel. For this they were imprisoned for twenty-four hours.<sup>2</sup> The Synod of Glasgow was roused to take vigorous action. In July 1656 Hamilton and Hart were summoned before the Presbytery of Hamilton, were threatened by Naismith, minister of Hamilton, and were arrested

<sup>1</sup> *British Friend*, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1870.

by the town bailiff. Next month while still in prison, they were excommunicated by the minister of Glassford for having disturbed a service.

The Records of the Presbytery of Lanark are very full concerning the Quakers in Lesmahagow and Douglas. On October 16, 1656, ministers were asked to report on the Quakers in their parishes, and this was done in November. Three men and four women were found at Douglas, and a family of four persons at Lesmahagow. Eventually, April 30, 1657, was fixed as a solemn day for pronouncing excommunication upon them. These measures not being sufficient, the Synod in 1657 ordained that no one should trade with them or give them food or lodging, and several persons were fined for so doing.<sup>1</sup> This proved fairly effective from the point of view of the Church, for in 1696 Thomas Story describes the Hamilton meeting as very poor and low—"things were then in a declining condition."<sup>2</sup> In 1717 he says that "there is now remaining at Hamilton but a very small number of Friends and but one or two of the old stock." The Douglas meeting died out in 1708. The Hamilton meeting is not named after 1722; and the Glasgow meeting ceased in 1732.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV

The Edinburgh meeting sprang out of the movement in the army. It never was large in early days, but it had more continuity in its history than some other meetings. Its history centres round a succession of persons who for the time were leading members in the community. From the first they were conspicuous for their courage and devotion to truth.

The earliest reference is that John Bowron preached at the Cross in 1654.<sup>4</sup> Miles Halhead from Westmorland spent ten days in Edinburgh in 1654, testifying to the garrison.<sup>5</sup> Nichol, in his *Diary*,<sup>6</sup> states that in April and May 1655 the Quakers publicly preached twice a week on the Castle hill. Caton records that at the end of 1655 some converts were not living as became the Gospel; that some of the early enthusiasts were ill-balanced in character and that because of these unwise builders the cause had declined.

The first prominent man after Colonel Osbourne was James Brown, a tanner in the Westport. From 1670 to 1680 most of the Quaker marriages were celebrated in his house. In 1670 the magistrates

<sup>1</sup> Fox's *Mystery of the Great Whore*, p. 334; *British Friend*, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, 1696.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal F.H.S.* Vol. I. For the history of the Glasgow meeting, see paper by Charles Taylor: *Proc. Glas. Archeo. Society*, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal F.H.S.*, XII.

<sup>5</sup> Besse: *Sufferings*, p. 495.

<sup>6</sup> P. 177.

seized twenty men at a meeting, but finding them innocent of any malpractices released them. In 1681 Brown died, leaving 2000 merks in legacies to the Society. From 1680 onwards Bartholomew Gibson was the leader. He was the King's smith and farrier in the Canongate. He refused to pay his teind of 6s. 8d.—“the annuity of the priest”—and two flagons and pewter dishes worth 29s. sterling belonging to him were seized. From 1689 the leader was William Miller, to whom and his family the Edinburgh Meeting owed much. He was a native of Hamilton, and probably through the influence of the Duke of Hamilton, the hereditary keeper of the Palace, was made the King's gardener at Holyrood. His wife was a relative of the Barclays. She was wont to preach in the open air with her husband and her eldest son at her side for protection. The succession of leaders was carried on by Bailie Thomas Erskine, a brewer in the Pleasance.

Disturbances at the meetings were frequent. The rabble flung bales of powder inside the meeting-house in 1698, and the college students broke open the doors in 1701. In 1720 48s. Scots was paid to soldiers for guarding the doors; even as late as 1764, £1 cash was paid for the attendance of a soldier.

The most remarkable of the converts in the eighteenth century was May Drummond, sister of George Drummond, five times Lord Provost of the city. She had an interview in 1735 with Queen Caroline, to whom she declared the truth for an hour and a quarter, Pitt also being present. “We had,” she says, “a very solemn time.”<sup>1</sup>

The Edinburgh meeting was at its best in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when the number of Friends was about 110.

## V

In the expansive years of Quakerism, *i.e.* from 1653 onwards, there are references to several preachers in the Border country.

In 1653 Miles Halhead was imprisoned at Berwick for preaching. In April 1654 Edward Burroughs, one of the foremost leaders, whose “very strength was bended after God,” and Christopher Atkinson were at Berwick, and visited some parts of Scotland.<sup>2</sup> In 1657 Thomas Holme, a weaver of Kendal, passed through Berwick; and at the end of this year, George Fox, at the close of his Scottish visit, had a meeting there, when “the Governor was kind, and the Lord's power came over all.”<sup>3</sup> In 1658 William Dewsbury, with a companion, passed through the town into Scotland. The countryside was full of harvesters, and they published

<sup>1</sup> *Journal F.H.S.*, IV, 55, 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, I, 310.



truth to hundreds of people on their first day in Scotland. Meagre reference is made to two Quakers resident in the Border district. James Halliday was a weaver who by 1658 had been "long convinced." He was joined later in his Border home by Patrick Livingstone, a Scotsman who had kept a meeting near Wooler for some years.<sup>1</sup>

While there are traces of considerable Quaker activity on the Borders, the precise influences which brought a notable group of lairds into the Quaker fold is unknown. Anthony Haig of Bemersyde<sup>2</sup> succeeded to the estate in 1654, at the age of sixteen. Three years later he became a Quaker, married a wife who remained a Presbyterian, and was himself excommunicated by the Church. On evidence furnished by the minister of Smailholm and another, Haig was imprisoned in the Edinburgh Tolbooth, but with a certain amount of liberty. After four years he was released on his own petition in December 1667. There is no further reference to Quakerism in his public life, as the estates evidently required all his attention, and he seems to have dropped the peculiarities of his creed. Twenty years later he was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for Berwickshire. His brother, William, also became a Quaker. He was a trader in London, and eventually joined his father-in-law, Gavin Lawrie, the depute Governor of the Quaker settlement in the American State of New Jersey.

John Swinton of Swinton was a member of the nominated Parliament of 1653, and afterwards one of Cromwell's leading agents in the administration of Scotland. As early as 1651 he had been dealt with by the Church for deserting the cause of Presbytery. Somewhere he came under Quaker influence. After the Restoration he was arrested in 1660 at a Quaker house in London, and was sent to Scotland in the same ship that conveyed the Marquis of Argyll to his doom. The same fate was intended for Swinton, but Burnet tells us that before his judges, "with a sort of eloquence that moved the whole house, he laid out all his own errors, and the ill spirit he was in when he committed them, with so tender a sense, that he seemed as one indifferent what they should do with him." He was recommended to the King's mercy, and after a long imprisonment and with much dilapidation of his estates, he was dismissed. For four years after 1662 he followed a byway of heresy, the error of which he came to see. Later, in 1672, he had a moral lapse, which necessitated his exclusion from the Society.<sup>3</sup> On showing penitence he was restored. On his deathbed in 1679 he issued a clear declaration of the blessedness of the Quaker principles.

Others of the notable band were Walter Scott of Raeburn, the great-

<sup>1</sup> *Second Period Quakerism*, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Russell's *Haig of Bemersyde*, ch. X.

<sup>3</sup> Jaffray : *Diary*, p. 566.

great-grandfather of Sir Walter Scott,<sup>1</sup> and Sir Gideon Scott of Highchester, his brother. Walter was imprisoned in the Tolbooth, and his children were placed under the charge of his eldest brother, who was not a Quaker, that they might not be contaminated by their father's faith. Later, some breach with the local meeting occurred, and he and several of his children that were once hopeful "forsook truth and Friends, and the meeting was lost afterwards."<sup>2</sup>

More influential than any of these was Charles Ormiston, merchant and banker in Kelso, who died in 1684. His son and grandson were the stay of the Quaker meeting, and through their influence and hospitality it continued through the eighteenth century.

Thomas Story, the evangelist, made Kelso his first stopping-place in his Scottish tours five times between 1692 and 1730. In 1717 he reports that there were a few pretty honest Friends. It was not for lack of visitors that the cause languished, for between 1751 and 1796 there are recorded 250 names of visitors to Scotland, most of whom visited Kelso. The last entry in the minute book is in 1796.

## VI

The movement in Aberdeen began with Alexander Jaffray (1614-73), a public-spirited citizen, a member of Parliament in 1649, and Provost of the city. Becoming dissatisfied with what he considered the selfish ends of the Scottish Covenants, and with the whole Presbyterian policy, he and four others separated from the Church in 1652. Four leading men, Samuel Rutherford, James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie and John Carstares, came to Aberdeen for conference with them, but it was to no purpose, and they founded an Independent Church in November 1652.<sup>3</sup> The cause of independency was furthered also by men of Cromwell's army, and by an Irishman named Ferrendail, who came preaching Brownism or Independency: he later joined the Quakers.

The first actual contact with Quakerism began through the army in 1657. John Hall, who has been referred to already, was eventually expelled from the city for disturbing public worship.<sup>4</sup> From 1658 onwards preachers found their way to the northern city in a steady stream. Chief among them was Dewsbury, who made an impression. "My bread I am casting on the waters," he wrote, "assured I am I shall find it in the time appointed." About the end of 1662 Jaffray joined them.

<sup>1</sup> See Note to Intro. to *Heart of Midlothian*.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal F.H.S.*, VII.

<sup>3</sup> Jaffray's *Diary*, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 228.



These men were denounced from the pulpit as demented, possessed by the devil, practising abominations under colour of being led by the Spirit.<sup>1</sup>

The Aberdeen group was not large, but its life and conduct were such as to make serious Christians discern in them a savour of living Christianity. The year 1666 witnessed a notable accession of strength when the Barclays, father and son, joined it. Colonel David Barclay had gained military glory in Sweden, and had filled several positions of high distinction: his wife was a distant cousin of King James I. While studying religion in his retirement he became convinced of the truth of the Quaker tenets. Imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, he met John Swinton, and through him was led to own the truth openly. His son, Robert, coming to see him, also took the same step.

Robert Barclay (1648-90) was educated at the Scots College in Paris, and did brilliantly in all his studies. He describes his "convincement" in a notable passage. "When I came into the silent assemblies of God's people," he said, "I felt a secret power among them, which touched my heart; and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up; and so I became thus knit and united to them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life, whereby I might find myself perfectly redeemed."<sup>2</sup> The Barclays settled on their estate at Ury near Stonehaven, and founded a meeting there.

The succeeding years saw bitter strife between the Church and the Quakers. Several persons in good standing, like Alexander Skene, a magistrate, with his wife, and Thomas Mercer, Ex-Dean of Guild, had joined the latter, and this provoked the Church to further measures of reprisal. Jaffray, aged and infirm, was dragged thirty miles to Banff prison and detained there nine months. William Forbes, the minister of Inverurie, was ordered to excommunicate his own daughter, and rather than lose his place, was proceeding to do so in church when "The Lord was so provoked that he was suddenly pulled away by death immediately before he should have given forth that sentence."<sup>3</sup> In 1675, there was a disputation between Robert Barclay and George Keith on the one hand and some students of divinity on the other hand. Barclay wished to remove some of the gross misrepresentations of the Quaker doctrines, but the Disputation ended in levity and stone-throwing, although four students joined the Quakers.

This persecution, instigated chiefly by the town ministers, went on till November 1679. During 1678-9, there were eighty imprisonments, but the influence of Robert Barclay with the Duke of York opened the prison doors. While their husbands were in gaol, the women kept the meetings alive. With freedom and peace, the Society was able to carry

<sup>1</sup> Jaffray's *Diary*, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> *Apology*, XI, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Second Period Quakerism*, p. 338.

out a project which lay near its heart. To secure the education of children in a Christian atmosphere, it established in 1681 two schools, one at Kinmuck, near Inverurie and one more elementary in Aberdeen.

With the advent of the eighteenth century, came a new atmosphere. There was a new tolerance and the days of persecution were over. The first generation had passed away, Colonel David Barclay in 1686, Robert Barclay in 1690, and fresh accessions to the cause were not forthcoming as before. Christian Barclay died in 1723; Andrew Jaffray, son of Alex. Jaffray, in 1726. Through the century the meetings held on at Aberdeen, Kinmuck, Old Meldrum, cheered by a constant flow of visitors from the South. The brief record of the last meeting in the minute book at Old Meldrum in 1781 ends thus; "Nothing coming in view, the meeting broke up."

## VII

The movement in Scotland in regard to time, numbers and influence, may be thus summarised :

The period of its rise and growth is the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The last quarter found the movement stationary while the first quarter of the eighteenth century witnessed the gradual decline, and in places, the extinction of the movement.

The number of converts was at no time large. In 1669, when a census was taken, there were 64 male members in Scotland, exclusive of Aberdeen. At Aberdeen 26 persons signed a document in 1672;<sup>1</sup> while in 1698 a testimony is signed by 54 at Aberdeen and some more county members.<sup>2</sup> A century later, there remain only 23 men and women in the Edinburgh and Kelso meetings, apart from a few in Aberdeen.<sup>3</sup> The few in Aberdeen in 1770 were in all seventeen out of a population of 11,196 "examinable persons," presumably those over about five years of age. At Monkeggie or Keithhall there were in 1791 38 Quakers out of 838 persons in the parish; at Inverurie 8; and a few at Old Meldrum.<sup>4</sup> A dictionary of names recorded in Scotland from 1656-1700 shows a total of 770, including students and casual visitors, of whom there were many.

The influence of the movement was chiefly local: there was not a sufficient number of converts to influence the whole land. The contests were with local presbyteries. Cromwell suppressed the General Assembly so that the Church as a whole did not take action at the start of the movement.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal F.H.S.*, VIII, 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 73

<sup>4</sup> *Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1791-9.

In Scotland monthly meetings were held at Clydesdale with four particular meetings ; at Edinburgh with two particular meetings ; and at Kelso with two particular meetings. The monthly meeting of Aberdeen, with its four particular meetings, was under the London yearly meeting.

The only thing in Scotland of more than local fame was Barclay's *Apology* which became widely known. Even Voltaire called it " as good as a book of its kind could possibly be." <sup>1</sup>

## VIII

The failure of Quakerism in Scotland was due to several causes.

1. There was simply no room in Scotland at that date for a sect outside of the National Church. The Reformation had been thorough. It was a genuine spiritual movement throughout the land, rising from the hearts of the people and striking root in the national life. The Church was purer than some other Churches. It followed Calvin, whose principle was to allow in it only what the Word of God allowed, whereas Luther's principle was to allow whatever the Word of God did not forbid. Hence there were not in Scotland, as in Germany for instance, the same points of departure, through weakness or defects, for sects to arise.

The Church had been consolidated in its Presbyterianism by its fight against Episcopacy. Its quarrels were family ones and did not affect its radically Presbyterian basis. When Quakerism appeared, accordingly, the Church used its absolute authority to excommunicate it.

2. There was throughout the Scottish Church a strain of evangelical preaching which gave forth something of the message of Fox. The ministers were Calvinists, no doubt ; but up and down the land there were men who had experienced the rich, free grace of Jesus Christ, and who preached the gracious, seeking love of God. We can gather the impression made by the preaching of William Guthrie of Fenwick from the title given to a volume of his sermons which a parishioner published without his knowledge : *A clear attractive warming Beam of Light from Christ, the Sun of Light, leading unto Himself*. Guthrie was not satisfied with these extracts, and wrote his book, *The Christian's Great Interest*. The parishioner's title shows that Guthrie was preaching that living relation of man with God which the Quaker emphasised in the Inner Light. It is not surprising that Quakerism failed to take root in Guthrie's parish ; and that pious people in Scotland preferred to remain within the Church which had sacraments of tried value as helpful channels of grace, but repudiated by the Quakers.

<sup>1</sup> Cadbury : *Life of Barclay*.



3. It is not inconsistent with this last reason to add that there is something in the Scottish character and mental constitution which made it irresponsive to Quakerism. Scotland is not the home of the mystics. Taylor Innes remarks that Scotsmen delight in the exercise of thinking for its own sake and have a passion for the form as well as the matter of Truth.<sup>1</sup> The mind of a Scot acts upon the subject of thinking ; whereas in England, the subject acts on the mind. The English mind lies more open to its subject ; it lets the subject sink into the mind. This is the attitude of the mystic ; he stills his soul ; argument, feeling, thinking—he brings all to rest, that Truth may get a chance to enter.

The Scottish mind would love rather to be active in discussing the form and garb which the Truth should wear.

4. The things which disturbed Scotland at that period had come from England. Episcopacy which the Stuart kings had tried to foist on Scotland was English. Cromwell, too, and his army of occupation were English, and however just Cromwell was in his dealings with Scotland, the people were in no mood to appreciate him. When the Quakers came north, accordingly, their new and odd ways were a piece of that England which Scotland did not want. Quakerism was suspect from the first.

Thus, for one reason or another, the Quaker and the Scot did not draw to each other. Both were earnest in their religion ; both were fighters for freedom ; both suffered severely for conscience sake, but each had his own raiment on the outside ; and the pity is that each noticed only the oddity of the other's garb and failed to recognise the man within as a brother in Christ.

<sup>1</sup> *Evangelical Succession*, 2nd Ser., p. 139.